

The Lollard Trail: some clues to the spread of pre-Protestant religious dissent in Scotland, and its legacy

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Introduction

There are several reasons why it is helpful to look closely at the early stages of the call for religious reform in Scotland, even although some of the clues to its origin and progress await clarification.¹

First, it extends the period of reformation back in time. Scotland had a comparatively late Reformation-settlement (in 1560) but concern for reform, and even demand for it, can be traced back into the fifteenth century, when it shared characteristics with those of religious dissent in England and parts of Europe. A consideration of its early stages places Scotland properly within the context of European life and thought. It also reminds us that concern for reform came from *within* the church, and that early reformers were in favour of transformation and restoration, not schism. Schism when it came was the result of the church's institutional resistance to the reformers' demands.

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the earlier work on Scottish lollardy published in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* [RSCHS], notably T.M. McNab, "Bohemia and the Scottish Lollards", *RSCHS*, v (1935), 23-29; same author, "The New Testament in Scots", *RSCHS*, xi (1951), 82-103; same author, "The Beginnings of Lollardy in Scotland", *RSCHS*, xi (1953), 254-60, as well as D.E. Easson, "The Lollards of Kyle", *Juridical Review*, xlviii, 123-8; L. Moonan, "Pavel Kravar and some writings once attributed to him", *Innes Review*, xxvii (1976), 3-23; W.S. Reid, "The Lollards in pre-Reformation Scotland", *Church History*, xi (1942), 269-83; and the Scottish material in J.A.F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards* (Oxford, 1965). The present paper attempts to assess the current knowledge, present some new evidence and suggest further avenues of investigation against the backgrounds of the Scottish social network and wider lollard history.

Second, those clues that surface in the fifteenth century indicate reforming activity in rural areas. The focus of Scottish Reformation studies on the active, not to say militant, phase of the 1550s tends to emphasise its urban character. However, even if reform did not entirely originate in rural areas its presence in *some* landward regions predated and then accompanied its urban progress.

Third, a study of the earliest phases of dissent illustrates the crucial and continuing role of the Scottish laity in carrying the reform forward. They often led both rural and urban reform.

Fourth, when we note the priorities among the demands of early would-be reformers a continuity of concern becomes apparent. The mid-sixteenth century reformers, not only those in Scotland, are sometimes accused of trying to strengthen their cause by providing themselves with a long and respectable ancestry, dating back to much earlier religious protesters, a claim which, it is often argued, cannot be sustained when their respective doctrines and practices are closely examined. This pragmatic argument readily makes sense to modern minds. However, in trying to understand the people of the past we must surely take seriously how they saw themselves. They took a more dynamic approach, seeing themselves as sharing the motivation and concerns of their reforming forerunners – and in some instances their objections to particular elements in church life.

Fifth, and specifically, this longer view of the reform movement may provide a context for the case of the so-called Lollards of Kyle, a group of lay men and women who were tried for heresy in the spring of 1494; dissenters about whom we would have known nothing had John Knox not included a brief account of their trial in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*.

The First Named Scottish Lollard

However, the trail begins a long way before the trial of the Ayrshire lollards, though not so very far geographically speaking; to be exact in Douglasdale, almost in the middle of the huge diocese of Glasgow.² It begins with the activities of Scotland's first named lollard, Quintin Folkhyrd, or Folkhard.

² See Map 1 on p. 27.

On 16 August 1407 a safe conduct was issued at Nottingham for Quintin Folkhyrd of Scotland who was then travelling towards London, and just under a month later he was granted another – at Beverley in Yorkshire this time – to allow him to travel to Scotland and back to England, having with him three servants, and some cattle which he intended to sell to defray his expenses. The uncommon combination of his first and second names makes it almost certain that he was the same Quintin Folkhyrd whose four letters (in the nature of reports), which he called “News of Scotland”, were sent to Prague in 1410.³ These letters he addressed to “all Christians”, but their content made them of special concern to the Hussite sympathisers with the followers of John Wycliffe. The letters report how the church authorities had reacted to Folkhyrd’s call for religious reform.

The writer designated himself “esquire” and was probably a member of a modest landed family. As he spoke of having angered the bishop of Glasgow and his clergy with his activities, his home territory probably lay in that diocese. I suggest that his most likely family connection is with the Folkhards, or Fockarts who from at least the thirteenth century held the lands of Fockartoun, Poneil and Kype in Kelso abbey’s barony of Lesmahagow; slightly to the south-east and south-west of the abbey’s dependent priory of Lesmahagow.⁴ A measure of support for this identification is found in the records of the royal treasurer. King James IV employed three liveried servants named Fockart from at least the 1490s. One of them, who acted constantly as the king’s envoy, was named Quintin – suggesting that this was a family name. In 1502 the king gave him £10 to buy another man’s rights to part of the lands of Fockartoun, and in 1503 paid his expenses to ride to Lanark where as a proprietor he was obliged to attend the sheriff court. When Quintin died in 1508 the king paid for his

³ *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree*, ed. J. Baxter (Oxford, 1930), 230-236, where the Latin texts are printed in full. I am grateful to Dr Paul Vysny of the University of St Andrews for his thoughts on a possible link between Fockart’s letters and the later visit to Scotland of Paul Kravar.

⁴ See Map 2 on pp. 28-29.

burial, including the making of a funeral escutcheon, an honour appropriate to the status of a landed man.⁵

It seems quite likely that Quintin Fockart the lollard was an earlier member of this family from Douglasdale. Clearly he had contacts among English lollards. He had spent time in England, including London, and he had found the means of sending his "News of Scotland" to Bohemia. The letters are in Latin, most likely written by a scribe. It has been suggested that they may have been sent to Prague with two which went from England also in 1410, one from Richard Wyche to Huss himself and one from the English lollard knight Sir John Oldcastle to Waldenstein. They reached Bohemia where they appear to have been copied for circulation.

For us their interest lies in the record of Fockart's efforts in advocating religious reform and the way in which they echo the concerns of English lollardy in the fifteenth century. In his first report Fockhart asserted that the clergy had tried to enlist the support of his fellow-laymen against him. In response he had defended himself in writing to the bishop of Glasgow, but his criticisms were pronounced heretical. The confrontation did not lead to prosecution at that time. Calling himself "a poor servant of God" he continued to ride about the country and, as he put it "to preach in the mother tongue to all who reached out a hand" to him. This suggests that he was received in some sympathetic households. The enormous extent of the Glasgow diocese must have made it difficult to police. The self-styled "poor servants of God" or "poor preachers" among the lollards were not necessarily of humble social status, as the English historian Michael Wilks has demonstrated, but were also drawn from the lollard gentry, as was Fockart himself.

In his second letter he continued to refute allegations of heresy laid against him by the clergy. In his third he mentions his direct call to the secular lords for support, contact which may have helped to sow the seeds of dissent among those families of the south-west who were to give enduring

⁵ *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. T. Dickson and others, 12 volumes, 1472-1574 (Edinburgh, 1877-1970), ii, 151; iv, 116, 117; other references, ii and iii *passim*.

support to reform over subsequent generations. In his fourth letter Fockart said he had appealed to the parish clergy – the curates – to implement practical reforms.

Much of what he had to say about the clergy had recognisable lollard overtones; his basic allegation being that they had failed to deliver the spiritual service for which they were paid in tithes and offerings. They ought, he said, to study and preach, to administer the sacraments “without price”. Yet they failed to teach the people in a way that the latter could understand, and did not give their surplus goods to the poor. He assured the curates that he spoke as their friend. He did not dwell on doctrinal matters in his reports, but presumably did so in his preaching, which was condemned as heretical by the church authorities. Nevertheless, his advocacy that the word of God should be taught in the “mother tongue” (which implies his own familiarity with vernacular texts), his insistence on the accountability of the clergy (notably the beneficed clergy, who received tithes), and the priority which he gave to preaching were essential parts of the lollards’ concern for reform, and continued to be at the heart of lay support for the Reformation.

Fockart in context

Although we do not know how Fockart came into contact with English lollardy, he cannot be viewed in isolation, for there were channels, religious, cultural and political, by which the opinions of English dissent may have crossed the border.⁶ There were Scottish students at Oxford in the second half of the fourteenth century, during Wycliffe’s active years there, Scots who were likely to be drawn from gentry and professional backgrounds. In 1401 some followers of Jerome of Prague, who had recently been at Oxford, fled across the Scottish border to avoid prosecution. In February 1403 two priests, one of whom was called Robert of Roxburgh suggesting border origins, also crossed the border, to avoid the penalties of the English statute “De Heretico Comburendo”. The “unsoundness of faith” of which

⁶ Previous discussions of the signs of lollardy will be found in those works cited in note 1 above.

they were accused may or may not have been lollard in character, but is likely to have been so. A copy of the bishop of Durham's warrant for their arrest is written into the register of Kelso abbey.⁷ The monastic scribe may simply have kept it as a useful legal style, or model. On the other hand, Kelso abbey may have been on Durham's mailing list of those who were asked to keep a look out for the fugitives. The English lollard preacher James Reseby was in Scotland about the time Fockart was travelling between the two countries. Reseby's activities led to his arrest, trial and burning at Perth in 1407, when it was claimed that he had sympathisers in Scotland, some of whom had obtained literature from him.

A very different channel of communication on the border in the early fifteenth century was the presence of the English garrison at Roxburgh castle. Many Scots had occasion to visit or pass through this fortified crossing point, including those inhabitants of Teviotdale who were licensed in 1403 to provision the castle. The English lollard leader Sir John Oldcastle was stationed at Roxburgh in 1400. In 1408 some Scots lords made overtures to him after negotiations for the release of King James I from his English prison broke down. Oldcastle may not have personally influenced the religious attitudes of his Scottish contacts but the presence of his and their followers during meetings could have provided occasions for likeminded people to get together and for ideas to get around. Oldcastle's clerk and confidant Thomas Payne was charged with planning the escape of James I from Windsor, while Oldcastle himself was suspected of having facilitated the attack on Berwick and Roxburgh by the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas in October 1415. William Douglas of Drumlanrig, a border magnate, made contact with Oldcastle on the Welsh border in 1417 after the collapse of the latter's rebellion and before his arrest.

News of the presence of heresy in Scotland reached parts of Europe. At the church council of Constance (1414), which condemned Wycliffe's teaching as heretical, Dietrich von Nieme referred to the spread of heresies even as far as Scotland, and the following year when preaching before the pope, Jean d'Achery, envoy of Paris university, also referred to heresy in

⁷ *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1846), ii, 538, 539.

Bohemia and Scotland. About the same time the pope called on the bishop of Moray to investigate the spread of heresy in his country. Scottish government and academic authorities were aware of the phenomenon of articulate dissent throughout the fifteenth century. An inquisitor was appointed, in the person of the learned Laurence of Lindores of St Andrews university. In 1417 the oath to be taken by graduates of the new university included a promise to be vigilant with regard to the presence of heresy.

John Knox, citing the “scrolls of Glasgow” – presumably the records of the Official’s court now lost – mentions an unnamed heretic who was burnt at Glasgow in 1422. Also in the 1420s, John Shaw, a monk of Dunfermline abbey who was studying at St Andrews, was drawn up by the authorities for unorthodox comments on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, that basic study material of medieval students. In July 1433 Paul Kravar, a Bohemian doctor, who had come to Scotland perhaps in response to information received over the years, and who had engaged in disputation, was arrested, tried and burnt. In 1436 disputation was forbidden after James Halderston, dean of theology, received a letter denouncing his treatment of lollards, in which he suspected the influence of one of the canons of the priory. There is evidence that some lay lollards were punished at this time. The *Book of Pluscarden* asserts that some had their lands confiscated, an assertion which merits some investigation. Bower, in the *Scotichronicon*, commended the regent Albany for his hatred of all heretics and lollards. The poet Walter Kennedy used the term “lollard” in taunting his literary protagonist Dunbar; suggesting a contemporary way of undermining someone’s reputation. Evidently, dissent – dubbed “lollardy” by contemporaries – was a recognised phenomenon in this period; it aroused debate, some of it open, and it could lead to prosecution, even the death penalty. Although inquisition appears to have receded towards the end of the century, lollardy itself apparently did not.

The Ayrshire Lollards

The evidence of the presence of lollardy in fifteenth-century Scotland, fragmentary and scattered though it is, gives us an historical context for the appearance of the so-called “Lollards of Kyle” who were tried at Glasgow before Archbishop Robert Blackadder and in the presence of King

James IV in the spring of 1494.⁸ They also have a geographical context: the border country between Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, in particular the neighbouring parishes of Lesmahagow, Avondale, Loudoun, Galston and Mauchline. The last was a huge parish which was divided into three after the Reformation, and contained Melrose abbey's barony of Kylesmure.⁹ Significantly, this region was the home of many families who were in the forefront of the reform movement in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Travel between Ayrshire and Lanarkshire was constant and comparatively easy, with routes through the surrounding uplands across Lanarkshire and from thence southwards towards the Middle Marches and Roxburghshire; or north-eastwards into Lothian towards Edinburgh, or more north-easterly still into Renfrewshire, across the Clyde into the Lennox and on to Stirling – the last being the route taken by the army of the Ayrshire Congregation when they marched to the support of their brethren at Perth in May 1559. In the 1520s we find the grain from Melrose abbey's grange at Mauchline being carried by way of Priesthill on the Mauchline/Lesmahagow parish boundary towards Lanark and then Carnwath where the carriages from Melrose met it. Some Ayrshire merchants sent their goods, especially wool, overland to be traded to Europe through Edinburgh middlemen and factors. As early as 1444 Edinburgh merchants were claiming freedom to trade in Ayr market. In the 1550s the feuars of Kylesmure travelled to Lesmahagow priory where the chamberlain of Kelso abbey collected the rents on behalf of James Stewart, joint-commendator of Kelso and Melrose. There were equally close links between Ayrshire and Galloway, a region which also features in the spread of religious dissent. In March 1552 a meeting of Ayr burgh court had to be postponed "because that mony of the neighbouris wes afield at the fayr of Wygtoun".

The Lollards of Kyle should really be called the Ayrshire lollards for some of them are said to have come from the northernmost bailiary of Cunninghame. Although Knox speaks of some thirty persons having been accused he names only six individuals.¹⁰ They were George Campbell of

⁸ John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W.C. Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1949), i, 8-11.

⁹ See Map 2 on pp. 28-29.

¹⁰ Marked with * on genealogical table 1, pp. 30-31.

Cessnock (from Galston parish); his son John Campbell of Newmilns (whose lands lay in Loudoun parish); his nephew Andrew Shaw, younger of Polkemmet (a branch of the Ayrshire Shaws of Sornbeg who held land in West Lothian); and two sisters, who were sisters-in-law of George Campbell, Helen and Marion Chalmers (from Gadgirth in Coylton parish) who had married respectively Robert Mure of Polkellie and William Dalrymple of Stair. The sixth accused named by Knox, not related to the others, was Adam Reid of Barskimming.

Knox lists 34 Articles of heresy of which the Lollards of Kyle were accused. Thirteen of these challenged the spiritual authority of the church, including the person of the pope, who was identified as antichrist, having no power to forgive sins and whose bulls, pardons and indulgences were declared to be a deception. Excommunication was not binding, they maintained. Four articles robbed the priesthood of their mediatory role, their spiritual authority, and their distinct clerical character: they had no power to consecrate, every believing man and woman is a priest, teinds should not be given to churchmen, priests should be allowed to marry. The higher clergy were accused of robbery, by failing to deliver spiritual services in return for material support, an echo of one of Quintin Fockart's criticisms.

Their doctrinal propositions included denial of the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and of the doctrine of transubstantiation – two central lollard positions; “the mass profiteth not the souls in purgatory”; “after consecration in the mass bread remains”. Their lollard antipathy to images, relics and miracles left Ayrshire reformers with an iconoclastic legacy. Worship, they maintained, need not take place in consecrated buildings. The role of the monarch was deprived of sanctity. The church had no authority to dissolve marriage. Crusades and the indulgences sold to finance them were wrong, and the faith should not be defended by force of arms – a position from which their descendants were destined to depart. Like other lollards the accused denied the lawfulness of oath-taking. There is no preoccupation here with sinful humanity's predicament before a holy God, so central to later reformers, but simply the advocacy of direct access to God by believing men and women, without human or saintly mediation, in circumstances shorn of all miraculous elements. The Christian experience here is not simply anti-authority, but extra-authority, and lay orientated. The anti-

sacramental attitude of these lollards was to re-appear, indeed continue, in the assertions against transubstantiation by the so-called “sacramentarians” of the 1530s and 40s, whose views provoked stricter anti-heresy legislation.

How did Knox hear about the Lollards of Kyle and how did he get hold of the details of their accusations? We know that when Archbishop James Beaton left Scotland in the summer of 1560 he took the diocesan records of Glasgow with him. The most likely source of Knox’s information was the descendants of some of the accused lollards, probably the Campbells of Cessnock to whom all but one of those named were related. Knox spent a good part of the year 1566 in Ayrshire, the year in which he is understood to have written Book I of his *History*, which includes his account of the Lollards of Kyle.¹¹ Did his informants rely solely on family traditions or had they preserved some documentation relating to their forebears’ trial? George Campbell of Cessnock who was alive in 1566 was the great-grandson of the lollard laird. A clue to the source of information may lie in an entry in the protocol book of the Glasgow notary Cuthbert Simpson who practised around the turn of the sixteenth century. This records that in March 1504, ten years after their trial, George Campbell of Cessnock and his son John of Newmilns asked Archbishop Blackadder for copies from the diocesan register of the attestations produced at their trial. This the archbishop agreed to do.¹² Was this what they produced for Knox? The Ayrshire Lollards had not been condemned, partly it is said thanks to the king’s intervention, but presumably also because they abjured – that is, formally swore that they no longer held those allegedly heretical beliefs of which they had been accused. With regard to the process of abjuration, the English historian Margaret Aston, in her book *Lollards and Reformers*, explains that “suspects who abjured were given indentured lists of their revoked errors, sealed with their own seals and that of the bishop. This method of documenting the process of abjuration was clearly intended to fortify the fears of recidivism [lapsing into error]: one half of the document was to remain in the episcopal archive, the other to be kept by the accused

¹¹ Knox, *History*, i, pp. xci-xcii.

¹² *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow* (containing Simpson’s protocol book), ed. J. Bain and C. Rogers (London, 1875), i, 375-6.

to his or her life's end".¹³ Was this what the Campbells received from the archbishop and produced for Knox? Incidentally, swearing or abjuring failed to deter lollards from continuing to hold their beliefs – they strongly denied the lawfulness of oath-taking of any kind and privately did not regard themselves as held to it.¹⁴

The accusations against the Ayrshire Lollards did not include that of possessing or reading heretical literature or forbidden books, although a later source claimed that John Campbell of Newmilns, his wife and a chaplain were condemned for having the vernacular scriptures read in his household but were saved from the death penalty by the king's intervention. There is evidence, however, that the lollard practice of holding household and other private conventicles, at which the scriptures were read, heard and discussed, did take place in the south-west. The major figure in this connection is Murdoch Nisbet, a married, non-graduate layman, who can probably be identified with the notary of that name who worked in the Irvine and Ayr valleys in the late 1520s and early 1530s. He made the first attempt to render the New Testament into Scots. Although the detailed chronology of Nisbet's life is still not entirely clear, his identification with religious reform spanned half a century. He was the great-grandfather of John Nisbet of Hardhill the covenanter who was executed at Kilmarnock in 1685. According to a brief family history compiled in 1718 Murdoch joined lollard circles around the turn of the sixteenth century. His descendants treasured what they called his "Wycliffe's new testament", now in the British Library. An edition was printed by the Scottish Text Society between 1901 and 1905.¹⁵ It is believed that Nisbet prepared his testament while he was out of Scotland to escape prosecution. It is not a painstaking translation but a rendering into Scots of an earlier lollard text, retaining English words where these would be familiar to his Scottish

¹³ Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers, Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (Hambleton Press, London, 1984), 96-7.

¹⁴ Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation, Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1998), 371-74.

¹⁵ *The New Testament in Scots...by Murdoch Nisbet*, ed. T.G. Law, 3 volumes (Scottish Text Society, 1901-05); includes extracts from the brief history of Murdoch Nisbet and his descendants.

hearers, prepared for the use of himself and his friends and their secret meetings. He is believed to have returned to Scotland about 1539 in company with others who had been in exile to avoid prosecution. He appears to have been aware of the work of other translators, but his Scots version came into being about the time Tyndale's text became available in Scotland and it never saw print. This may in any case never have been contemplated by Nisbet. He is said to have lived long enough to assist fellow-Ayrshiremen like John Lockhart of Barr and Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh to remove the apparatus of traditional worship from local churches in the 1540s. One wonders if he met George Wishart at Barr in 1545. In any case, he and his testament form an important link between Scottish lollardy and the era of distinctly protestant reform in the south-west.

Family Networks

Certain families became particularly identified with the call for reform over the generations that spanned the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. One such family was that of the Stewarts, Lords Avondale, subsequently Ochiltree.¹⁶ Avondale castle lay near Strathaven in Lanarkshire, near the border with Ayrshire; Ochiltree is in King's Kyle, south of the river Ayr. The Stewarts were descended from the second son of King Robert II; the title Lord Avondale was created in 1488 for the illegitimate son of Sir Walter Stewart, King Robert's great-grandson. In 1534 Andrew Stewart, third Lord Avondale, exchanged his Lanarkshire lordship with Sir James Hamilton of Finnart for that of Ochiltree. The previous year (1533) his eldest son Walter was involved in what may be the earliest recorded case of a public act of iconoclasm in Scotland. Our source of information on the incident is Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* in which he tells how Walter Stewart was tried at Glasgow for "casting down ane image in the kirk of Ayr".¹⁷

The incident may or may not be the same as that recorded in the legal style book of John Lauder (at one time employed in the Glasgow episcopal

¹⁶ See genealogical table 2, pp. 32-33.

¹⁷ David Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and D. Laing, 8 volumes (Wodrow Society, 1842-49), i, 104.

chancery) which refers to the decapitation of a statue of the Virgin Mary on the wall of the Greyfriars' kirk at Ayr; no date is given.¹⁸ According to Lauder's account the perpetrators of this act were also charged with denying the doctrine of the mass, possessing banned literature, including a New Testament in English, and spreading Lutheran doctrines. It was not uncommon in heresy cases for the initial charge (often a public act) to lead to further investigation of the accused's opinions. Walter Stewart's trial appears to have followed this pattern for according to Calderwood only "after long dealing with him" did he publicly abjure his heretical opinions. On the way home Walter's horse stumbled while crossing the Calder Water and he was drowned. The route taken by his party indicates that they were making for Avondale castle, where the family were still living¹⁹, yet here was Walter involved in religious protest in the burgh of Ayr, which hints at a network among those sympathetic to reform.

In Walter Stewart's story there appears one of those minor characters whose presence also hints at this network of dissidents. This is George Good, a law clerk and burgess of Edinburgh. He is said to have ridden behind Walter on the same horse on the way back from Glasgow, but escaped drowning in the accident. Presumably he had been with the party at the trial, to act in some legal capacity. Good was retained as a legal factotum for the burgh of Ayr for many years, receiving a pension charged on the burgh accounts from at least 1536 to 1559. He also appeared in court of session cases involving Ayrshire clients and as a witness in some of their private transactions. Did he belong to Ayrshire? The surname Good turns up in Loudoun parish; in 1533 one Thomas Good witnessed a transaction relating to a Newmilns property along with Murdoch Nisbet – is this coincidence?²⁰

¹⁸ *St Andrews Formulare*, ed. G. Donaldson and C. Macrae, 2 volumes (Stair Society, 1944), ii, 59.

¹⁹ See Map 2 on pp. 28-29.

²⁰ *Ayr Burgh Accounts*, ed. G. Pryde (Scottish History Society, 1937), *passim*; Acts of the Lords of Council (National Archives of Scotland [NAS]: CS5/32, fo. 193v, CS5/33, fos. 144v, 175; Acts of the Lords of Council and Session, CS6/12, fo. 106; *Calendar of Laing Charters*, ed. J. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899), no. 390.

Other members of the Stewart family are known to have supported religious reform. On Walter's death his younger brother Andrew became heir and subsequently second Lord Ochiltree. He became a prominent leader of the Congregation of the west-country; a peaceable man by reputation, whose daughter Margaret became the second wife of John Knox, in 1564. The Stewart family included the two sons of Henry, first Lord Methven – cousins of Walter and Andrew Stewart. John, the younger, was at one point accused of heresy and of having written ballads and pamphlets lampooning what he saw as abuses in the church. His elder brother Henry, second Lord Methven, warned Mary of Guise in 1545 that he believed the time had come for attempts at conciliation with the religious dissidents; things had gone too far for punishment to be of any use.²¹ Perhaps it is understandable that he came to this conclusion, since several relatives of his own generation had aligned themselves with radical reform.

Bible-reading groups in Galloway are said to have gathered around the household of Alexander Gordon of Airds who was born about 1479. He had been in England early in life, where he acquired an English New Testament and brought home a chaplain who was sympathetic to reform, and who later educated his son in the reformed faith. Having lost his lands on a charge of heresy, Alexander recovered them but was escheated again in 1548 for going to England without licence. It was in private conventicles at Airds that young Alexander Stewart of Garlies made contact with religious dissent.²² While quite young he too had spent time in England, as a hostage for his father who was one of those Scots released after the rout of Solway Moss (1542) in return for their support for a projected Anglo-Scottish marriage alliance. In 1558 young Alexander Stewart of Garlies invited the protestant preacher William Harlaw, who had also spent time in England, to preach at Dumfries.²³

The English connection is important throughout when trying to follow the contacts of these early religious dissidents. English contacts strengthened

²¹ *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*, ed. A.I. Cameron (Scottish History Society, 1927), 133.

²² See genealogical table 1, pp. 30-31.

²³ W. McDowall, *History of Dumfries* (Edinburgh, 1873), 219.

their adherence to the ideological arguments for closer ties with the traditional “auld enemy”, at a time when political relations between the two countries were also undergoing change. In the generation that experienced the effects of Flodden (1513) the Stewarts of Garlies allied with another family of reforming sympathies, the Lockharts of Barr, from Galston parish; Margaret Stewart, sister of the laird of Garlies who was killed at Flodden married John Lockhart of Barr, and it was their son John who extended hospitality to Wishart and Knox in 1545 and 1556 respectively.²⁴

John Lockhart’s iconoclastic brand of reform reflects the fact that he grew up in a family circle and neighbourhood permeated with the attitudes of an earlier dissenting generation, reinforced by those of his cousins on his mother’s side, the Stewarts of Garlies. It is just possible that Lockhart may have made some English contacts of his own in 1535 when he travelled through England in the entourage of his kinsman William Stewart, bishop of Aberdeen, then on an embassy to France.

Dissent in Fife

A unifying force in religious dissent in Fife was the Leslie family, headed by the earls of Rothes, particularly George fourth earl. We may ask what earlier influences moved some Fife families in the direction of reform. In trying to investigate this question we encounter the elusive figure of John Andrew Duncan, son of the laird of Airdrie or Ardaray in Crail parish, who is referred to as a lollard by near-contemporaries and family tradition. It is not yet clear whether his family held part of Airdrie which later came to the Lumsdens, or whether they had a quite different holding. John Andrew is said to have been forfeited for his heretical opinions, when his lands passed to his sister’s family, the Duncansons from Angus. The biographical details we have about him come from the *Biographia Britannia*, which in turn claims to be based on an original manuscript account. This account is quoted by Thomas McCrie in his life of Andrew Melville. John Andrew is said to have attended St Andrews university, which he left in 1513 to join

²⁴ See genealogical table 1, pp. 30-31.

fellow-students in the Flodden campaign. He was taken prisoner but allowed to live with a relative of his mother in Beverley, Yorkshire, a Mr Andrew Burnet, a zealous lollard, who encouraged him in his criticisms of the church. After a brief spell in Scotland he was obliged to return to Beverley to avoid arrest, where he married Burnet's daughter. After the end of the Regent Albany's regime in Scotland in 1524 he returned to Fife where his household became a gathering point for would-be reformers. He became acquainted with Patrick Hamilton at St Andrews and took part in an abortive attempt to rescue him from his captors in 1528, an incident which is also mentioned by the exiled St Andrews canon, Alexander Allan. Thereafter Duncan left Scotland for good.²⁵

Names of various heretics and reformers appear in the circle of the Leslie of Rothes. Some of these references are mere straws in the wind at present but seem worth collecting. Henry Balnaves, the professional lawyer, who in the 1540s wrote a treatise on the doctrine of justification, was a native of Fife. The lands of Balnaves, from which his forebears may have derived their surname, actually lay in the lordship of Leslie, the heart of Rothes' Fife territories. The land was held from Rothes by Alexander Gourlay of Kinraig.²⁶ Was this the family of Norman Gourlay, a priest arrested on a charge of having married, accused of deeper heretical opinions and burnt with others at Edinburgh in August 1534? Norman Gourlay had witnessed a transaction by the earl of Rothes at Leslie castle in 1520; he may have been a chaplain in the Leslie household.²⁷ Or he may have been one of the Gourlays of Southfield whose laird witnessed a document in 1494 in company with Alexander Forsyth of Nydie, father of the Fife laird David Forsyth of Nydie who so admired Knox's first sermon in St Andrews in 1547 and was described by Knox as "a man fervent and upright in religion".²⁸ Henry Balnaves himself is found in Rothes' company, witnessing his legal business, sometimes in the earl's Edinburgh lodging

²⁵ *Biographica Britannia* (second edition, 1793), v, 492-3; Peter Lorimer, *Patrick Hamilton* (Edinburgh, 1857), 202.

²⁶ Acts of the Lords of Council (NAS CS5/24, fo. 96).

²⁷ Muniments of the University of St Andrews: SS 'B', fo. 84v.

²⁸ MacGill Charters (NAS, GD82/37).

and he also witnessed the marriage contract between Rothes' daughter Agnes and William Douglas of Lochleven who actively supported in the Lords of Congregation in his teens.²⁹ The Fife magnates and their friends who resisted the policies of Cardinal Beaton in the 1540s did not suddenly make common cause; they were a circle of familiar friends of long standing.

Reform in Lothian

An element of cohesion among dissenters in Lothian was provided by the household of Sir James Sandilands of Calder who was born about 1482 and died in December 1559 on the eve of the triumph of the reformers. Knox called him "that ancient and honourable father", and Sadler the English ambassador described him as "a grave and wise personage and of such honestie and truth...". The family originated in Douglasdale, taking their surname from the lands of Sandilands, and a branch came to hold lands in the lordship of Avondale; so their holdings straddled the old suspect lollard country. They disposed of the Sandilands property sometime in the fifteenth century, having acquired Calder (i.e. the modern Mid-Calder) in the fourteenth.³⁰ In 1526 Sir James and others received a crown remission for the slaughter of James Somerville and in 1527 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, possibly as an act of penance, an exercise which he repeated eight years later.³¹ It is not known when his orthodoxy began to waver but by the 1540s he was firmly committed to reform. Having received a crown gift of the lands of Ormiston in East Lothian he married his daughter Alison to the heir, John Cockburn who protected George Wishart in 1545 and employed John Knox as a tutor to his sons. The household at Calder became a focus for meetings of protestant sympathisers, including Lord James Stewart (later the Regent Moray) and Lord Lorne (later, fifth earl of Argyll), and in 1556 John Knox famously administered the Lord's Supper there.

²⁹ Rothes Muniments (NAS, GD204, Box 15); Morton Muniments (NAS, GD150/311).

³⁰ Torphichen Writs (NAS, GD119/152); Mar and Kellie Muniments (NAS, GD124/1/1121).

³¹ Torphichen Writs (NAS, GD119/193); *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, ed. R. Pitcairn, 4 volumes (Bannatyne Club, 1833), i, 240.

The Privy Kirk

It is important to draw attention to the underground phase of Scottish protestantism and those embryonic congregations of the late 1550s referred to as privy kirks.³² They created a feeling of mutual support, motivation towards reform and opportunity for study and discussion of protestant doctrine. As Knox put it, “partlie by reading, partlie by brotherly conference, which in the dangerous dayis used to the comforte of many”. However, private conventicles had worried the government and church from at least 1541 when they were referred to as “the privat congregatioun and conventiculis of heretikis quhair thair erroris ar spred”, and informants on their activities were encouraged to come forward. In Perth in 1543 a group held “an assemblie and conventioun” to discuss the scriptures at St Anne’s chapel on a public holiday. Bishop John Leslie deplored these meetings of heretics “in chimlay nuikis, secret holes and sik privat places, to truble the hail cuntrie...”. His description recalls Adam Wallace’s confession at his 1550 trial, that although he did not regard himself as a preacher, nevertheless “sometymes at the table and sometymes in other prevey places he wald reid and had red the Scriptures and had gevin such exhortatioun as God pleaseth to geve to him, and to such as pleased to hear him”. The aged Walter Myln is said to have been explaining the Scriptures at a woman’s fireside when he was arrested in 1558.

The Lords of the Congregation after drawing up their first Bond in December 1557, formulated plans for the gradual introduction of reformed practice in worship, which would enable them to protect their preachers without provoking a clampdown. Less controversial practices, such as the reading of the common prayers and from the Scriptures in the vernacular were to be introduced in public worship, while the more controversial practices of preaching, teaching and discussion should take place “privately in quiet houses, without great conventionis of people thereto...”, until such time as reformed worship might gain official toleration.³³ According to

³² James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform, Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989), Chapter 1, ‘“The Privy Kirks” and their antecedents: the hidden face of Scottish Protestantism’.

³³ Knox, *History*, i, 137-8.

Knox this experiment was interrupted in Holyrood (Canongate) parish when the Queen Regent stopped those un-named “young men” who were reading the prayers in the vernacular.

However, we should also remember the earlier practice of secret reading and discussion of the Bible which had benefited from the increasing availability of the English translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, and the still earlier lollard practice of conventicles and study groups such as those that gathered round the Gordons of Airds, Murdoch Nisbet and John Andrew Duncan. By the 1550s some regions had had long experience of this kind of clandestine gathering.

In his *History* Knox has preserved “The Order of the Election of Elders and Deacons in the privy kirk in Edinburgh”, elders whom he said the whole congregation voted for and to whom “the whole brethren promised obedience”. Preaching and reading fell to those who were so gifted, some of them laymen, since no ministers had at the time been appointed. As in his account of the Ayrshire lollards Knox reveals the names of only a few individuals associated with Edinburgh’s secret congregation in the 1550s. However, there were others in the capital who are very likely to have been part of that community, including the “secret professors” of the 1540s and those whose efforts on behalf of protestantism before and after 1560 confirm their long adherence to it. The background and connections of these people may throw light on the network of still earlier dissent.

One of the most prominent members of Edinburgh’s privy kirk was the merchant James Barron, who through his brother Patrick, conservator of the Scottish trading staple at Veere, had established European contacts. In May 1557 James Barron was in Geneva to deliver a letter to Knox from the Lords of the Congregation, when he was accompanied by another Edinburgh protestant James Sym (or Syme), with whom Knox had lodged during his visit of 1555-56. Barron, like many prosperous merchants, also acted as a financier and moneylender, and did business for a number of the reform-minded, including Lord James Stewart, Donald Campbell, abbot of Cupar Angus (who defected to the protestant side in May 1559), Mr James McGill the clerk-register and friend of Knox, and Kerr of Cessford, head of the branch of the Kerr kindred who supported the Reformation. Barron’s family had some Ayrshire contacts; James’s brother Patrick had at one

time an interest in the burgh lands of Ayr. James Barron was a commissioner to the general assembly from 1560 to 1569.³⁴

Barron's first wife was Elizabeth Adamson, whose deathbed confession of her protestant faith and refusal to accept the Catholic last rites were commemorated by Knox in his *History*. She particularly enjoyed Knox's teaching during his 1555-56 visit when he taught and administered the Lord's Supper in private houses. It was almost certainly her brother, William Adamson, younger, whom Knox listed among those who he said had a knowledge of the reformed faith in the 1540s. Like the Barrons, the Adamsons were a merchant family who held several civic offices from time to time, including those of burgh treasurer, dean of guild and bailie, and like the Barrons they had a connection with Ayrshire, in that Elizabeth and William's uncle Robert Adamson and his wife held land in the barony of Cumnock from James Dunbar of Cumnock.³⁵ On one occasion Robert's procurator at the court of session, where he was defending his right to these lands, was George Good, the clerk who had accompanied Walter Stewart of Avondale to his trial in 1533.

Among the secret religious dissidents in Edinburgh in James V's reign was Francis Aikman the king's apothecary; one of those whose position at court frustrated the church's attempts to arrest them for heresy. On one occasion Francis Aikman witnessed the giving of possession of an Edinburgh property to William Fowler (son of John Fowler merchant) and his wife Sibilla Lindsay.³⁶ According to Knox Sibilla was another "secret professor" of the 1540s. She may have been related to Lord Lindsay, whose son the Master of Lindsay witnessed a transaction of her husband in 1542; he became the sixth Lord and a prominent supporter of the Reformation. The other witness was Sibilla's brother Patrick, also said by Knox to have had an early knowledge of the reformed faith.³⁷

³⁴ Edinburgh Burgh Register of Deeds (NAS, B22/1/20, fo. 56v); Knox, *History*, i, 132; Register of Deeds (NAS, RD1/1, fos. 42v, 364).

³⁵ Knox, *History*, i, 119-20, 43; Acts of the Lords of Council (NAS, CS5/39, fo. 9).

³⁶ Edinburgh Register of Deeds (NAS, B22/1/7, fo. 129).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 150.

Francis Aikman's daughter Elizabeth married David Somer who became a bailie and a prominent Edinburgh protestant. For many years he and his wife rented a chamber in their lodging to William Douglas of Lochleven and his wife, with whom they shared an early attachment to the reformed kirk.³⁸ The Aikmans had overseas contacts through William Aikman, a prosperous ex-patriate Scottish merchant in Dieppe.

One of those who supported the governor Arran in 1543, when the protestant party took advantage of Cardinal Beaton's temporary detention to pass an act of parliament permitting use of the vernacular Scriptures, was David Forrest, a native of Haddington, who supported Wishart in 1545. Knox described him as having "long professed the truth and was depended on by many". He joined Knox in Edinburgh in 1558 where he undertook teaching in the privy kirk. Knox criticised him for his part in trying to defuse the situation surrounding the St Giles' procession riot that year. The Forrest family long held property in the Giffordgate of Haddington; David and John Knox may have known each other from their youth.³⁹

Mr Robert Lockhart, another teacher in Edinburgh's privy kirk, was a native of Ayrshire, brother of John Lockhart of Barr and nephew of the distinguished philosopher Mr George Lockhart. He was one of those who linked east and west Scotland in the reform network. A canon of Aberdeen cathedral, he acted as a go-between for the St Andrews castilians, after the Cardinal's assassination; in 1547 he took a message to the duke of Somerset from George Meldrum of Fyvie, the Aberdeenshire laird who in 1544 had been accused of reading heretical literature. Lockhart's willingness to act as a mediator between the reformers and the Queen Regent offended Knox. Nevertheless, he may have been the means of introducing Knox to his brother the laird of Barr, who was in Edinburgh in January 1556 and was one of those who accompanied Knox into Ayrshire that month.⁴⁰ In 1565 Robert Lockhart married Beatrice Livingston the widow of his fellow-Ayrshireman Adam Wallace who was burnt for heresy in 1550.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, B22/1/14, fo. 113; Morton Muniments (NAS, GD150/2186, 2237).

³⁹ Knox, *History*, i, 67; Papers relating to the Forrests of Haddington (NAS, GD1/39/V/7).

⁴⁰ Register of Deeds (NAS, RD1/1, fo. 252v).

Adam Fullarton also had his roots in Ayrshire. His seal incorporates heraldic devices of the Ayrshire Fullartons.⁴¹ In 1583 he owed a debt to Mr John Fullarton of Dreghorn, near the royal burgh of Irvine, suggesting that he belonged to that branch of the Fullarton family. John Fullarton, who had been to university, and was served heir to his father in 1546, was Adam's contemporary and a zealous protestant. He subscribed the Band of Ayr in 1562, served on the assize at the trial of Archbishop Hamilton, who was charged with publicly celebrating mass at Easter 1563, and was one of the westland magnates who marched on Edinburgh in 1565 during the brief rebellion against Queen Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley. If Adam and Mr John Fullarton were brothers, Adam's mother, according to the family histories, was Helen Chalmers daughter of Sir John Chalmers of Gadgirth. This is the Helen Chalmers "lady of Polkellie" who was accused as a lollard in 1494. She was at that time a young widow; her husband Robert Mure of Polkellie died before 9 July 1491, at least three years before her trial.⁴² If Helen Chalmers was Adam Fullarton's mother the early influences on his radical outlook are obvious. If he and Mr John Fullarton were cousins, not brothers, Adam's mother would have been Elizabeth Dalrymple from Stair, whose brother married the other woman accused of lollardy, Marion Chalmers, Helen's sister. Either way, Adam would have been reared in a dissenting tradition, for the Dalrymples of Stair were also on the side of reform.

Like many Ayrshire boys Adam may have been apprenticed in Edinburgh; the Register of Apprentices only survives from 1583 but between then and 1625 62 Ayrshire boys were apprenticed in the capital. Adam acquired his burgesship in 1549 in right of his wife Marjorie Roger, a young widow, daughter of Matthew Roger, burgess of Edinburgh.⁴³ Adam became a merchant and from the early 1550s onwards held a number of civic offices including those of bailie, dean of guild, commissioner to the convention of estates (1572) and to the convention of royal burghs (1552-

⁴¹ *Laing Charters*, no. 831.

⁴² Acts of the Lords of Council (NAS, CS5/3, fo. 68).

⁴³ Register of Deeds (NAS, RD1/15, fo. 401), contract of 25 January 1575/6, which in turn refers to the marriage contract of Marjorie's daughter Janet Stevenson, drawn up 14 May 1569.

1577). Late in life he became master of the town's hospital. He lent money to the regents of Scotland, represented the burghs to the English government with complaints of piracy and during the civil war was an active member of the King's party, at one point negotiating with the captain of the castle which was held for the Queen. His house in what became known as Fountain Close having been badly damaged in the hostilities, was afterwards restored by him but was demolished in the late 1920s. Personally acquainted with Knox, Fullarton was a prominent member of the protestant party before 1560. In 1556 he was publicly reprimanded for failing to take part in the traditional civic riding of the boundaries on Allhallows' Eve, and was among those deprived of office for opposing the Queen Regent. In 1559 he was spokesman for the Lords of the Congregation when the Regent tried to re-erect mass in St Giles' church.⁴⁴

Like other adherents of the privy kirk, Adam Fullarton is found involved in the everyday affairs of others in the protestant community. He shared some of his public responsibilities, such as those of bailie and auditor of the burgh accounts, with fellow-protestants, James Barron, Edward Hope and David Somer. In 1552 he witnessed a property transaction in favour of Elizabeth Aikman, David Somer's wife⁴⁵ who, as already noted, was a daughter of Francis Aikman the apothecary. In 1559 he acted as attorney for the son of James Barron.⁴⁶ After the Reformation settlement he continued to be an uncompromising supporter of the new regime. In 1561 he was one of those who issued the strongly-worded proclamation which banished Catholic recusants, along with various malefactors, from the burgh. He appears as an elder of the kirk in the fragmentary minutes of Edinburgh general session, dating from 1574-75, when he was involved with visitation, preparations for the communion and provision for the poor.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ See *The Parliaments of Scotland, Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, ed. Margaret D. Young, 2 volumes (Scottish Academic Press, 1992), i, 267-8, for a summary of Adam Fullarton's public career.

⁴⁵ Edinburgh Burgh Register of Deeds (NAS, B22/1/16, fo. 199).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, B22/1/20, fo. 150.

⁴⁷ Edinburgh General Session Minutes (NAS, CH2/450/1).

The most interesting light on Fullarton as a committed protestant, comes from the testament of his wife Marjorie Roger who died on 7 March 1583.⁴⁸ In accordance with legal practice the moveable estate was regarded as held in common by husband and wife and the inventory therefore includes Adam's possessions. These include 29 books valued at over £44. The books are individually listed, which is uncommon in sixteenth-century Scottish testaments. At least 17 are theological and other religious works – some of the titles have still to be identified, a task made a little difficult by the clerks' habit of shortening or paraphrasing the titles.⁴⁹

Three of the works are commentaries. These are Luther on the Epistle to the Galatians, of which Vautrollier published an English translation in 1575, and revised editions in 1577 and 1580; and Bishop John Hooper's commentary on the Commandments and on the Book of the Prophet Jonah, published in 1548-9 and 1550 respectively. The book listed simply as "Musculus" might also have been a commentary, that by Wolfgang Musculus on the Fifty-first Psalm, of which English translations appeared in 1565 and 1566, or it may have been the same author's *Commonplaces of the Christian Religion*, of 1563, or his more practical *Of the Lawful and Unlawful Usurie amongst Christians*, of 1566, appropriate perhaps to a Christian merchant's library. Clearly meant for study purposes was "Tindale's Work", as it was listed; possibly *The Whole Works of William Tyndall, John Frith and Doct(or) Barnes*, edited by John Foxe, published in 1573. Aids to study were found in a Concordance, not otherwise identified, and Archbishop Cranmer's English translation of a Catechism, previously translated into Latin by Justus Jonas from a Lutheran text. *The Christian Estate of Matrimonie* (no author given) dealt with an important specific subject.

⁴⁸ Edinburgh Commissary Court, Register of Testaments (NAS, CC8/8/13, fo. 32).

⁴⁹ The titles of Fullarton's books have so far only been checked against A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1475-1640*, second edition, W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and Katherine Pantzer (London, 1986).

Fullarton evidently followed the religious controversies of the day and not surprisingly, given his radical outlook, owned several books attacking the Roman Catholic doctrine of the mass. He owned a copy of Archbishop Cranmer's work listed as "The Confusion of the Papists on the Sacraments", possibly Cranmer's *A Defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ*, issued in 1550; also a volume listed as "On the Horrible Errors of the Mass"; and one entitled "A Display of the Papists Practicis". The cryptic title "Jewel and Hardoun" must relate to one of several publications that appeared in the course of the controversy between John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, and Thomas Harding, which began with Bishop Jewel's *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* of 1562, to which Harding, who fled to Louvain, replied in 1564. Fullarton also owned a copy of *The Reasoning between John Knox and the Abbot of Crossraguel concerning the Mass*, which contained the disputation that took place in Maybole, in Ayrshire, in 1562. "Letters of the Martyrs who were burnt in England" (no author given) represented protestant history. "The Family Luif" was probably the book with the long title *The Family of Love, a brief rehearsall of the beleef of the good willing in Englande, which are named the Famelie of Love, with the confession of their gane-speakers*, printed in 1575. Given Fullarton's radical background, his interest in the defence of this Anabaptist community who arrived in England from Holland in the reign of Edward VI is of some significance. If his library is anything to judge by, Fullarton was both inclined to study and aware of beliefs and controversies and the progress of protestantism outwith Scotland.

Lastly, a family vignette which takes us back to the lollard country of the south-west. When Timothy Pont towards the end of the century came to write his topographical description of Cunninghame, north Ayrshire, he noted the small settlement of Burnmouth, on the outskirts of Newmilns in Loudoun parish, as being the birthplace of the "noteable preacher" William Aird whom Timothy knew as a minister at St Cuthbert's, outside Edinburgh, where his own father Robert Pont had also served. Aird, Pont tells us "being extraordinarily called from a maissone became a famous preacher and detector of the Romish whore in the beginning of the Reformation of our church". Since Aird was not called to the ministry until the 1580s this

suggests reforming activity as a young man.⁵⁰ Calderwood corroborates Pont's account of Aird by telling us that he was a mason until the age of twenty and that "his wife was the first who taught him to read English" – from the Bible? He was sent to college, probably to Glasgow, and to the exercises of the church where he would hear and take part in discussion of the Scriptures. Having shown a particular aptitude for languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, he became a minister at St Cuthbert's, apart from a short time in England. He lived till 1608.⁵¹

In his later account of Aird, Wodrow remarked that "he became a notable man for uprightness, great learning and reading".⁵² Pont mentioned the fact that Aird was taught to read by his wife, giving us an interesting glimpse of the younger generation in Murdoch Nisbet's home parish of Loudoun. It would be good to know his wife's name. It is also interesting that the Airds' daughter, Betty, has been identified as a teacher in Edinburgh in the early seventeenth century. One of her former pupils remembered how "she took great pains in upbringing of her scholars in the fear of God".⁵³ Early influences make their mark, and travel not only through time but across country.

Linlithgow

⁵⁰ Aird was appointed to St Cuthbert's in 1584. His first appearance with the elders on the kirk session is on 20 August 1586. He attended in company with Mr Robert Pont and Mr Nicol Dalgleish on 10 September following. (St Cuthbert's Kirk Session Minute Book, NAS, CH2/718/1, fo. 5).

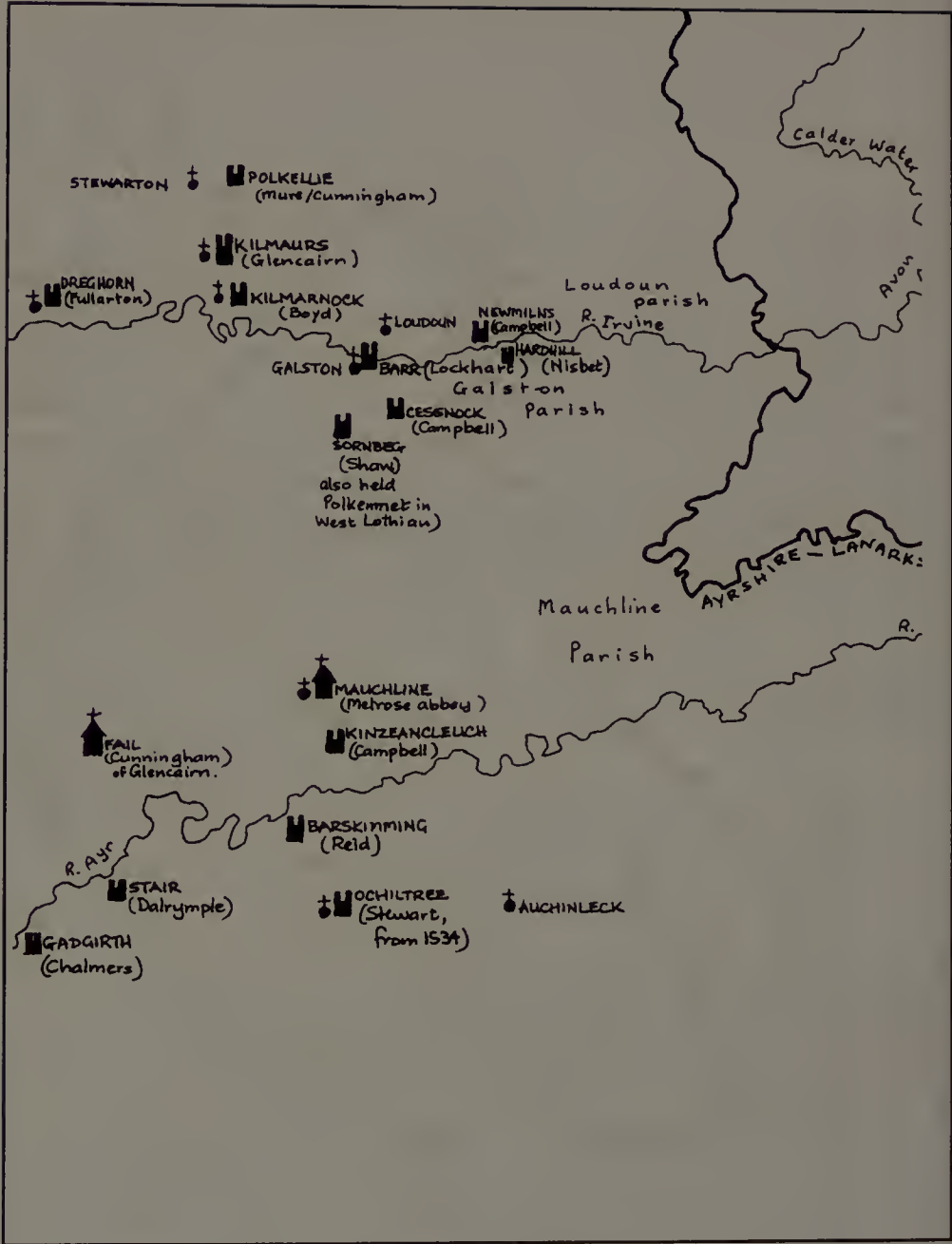
⁵¹ Timothy Pont, *Cunninghame Topographised, 1604-08*, ed. J.S. Dobie (1876), 12, 108-10; Calderwood, *History*, iii, 621.

⁵² Wodrow Biographical Collection (Glasgow University Library, MS 1211, no. 9).

⁵³ "Mistress Rutherford, account of herself" (Edinburgh University Library, Laing MS III, 263, no. 6). D. Mullan, "Mistress Rutherford's Narrative", in *Bunyan Studies*, 7 (1977), 13-37.



Map 2



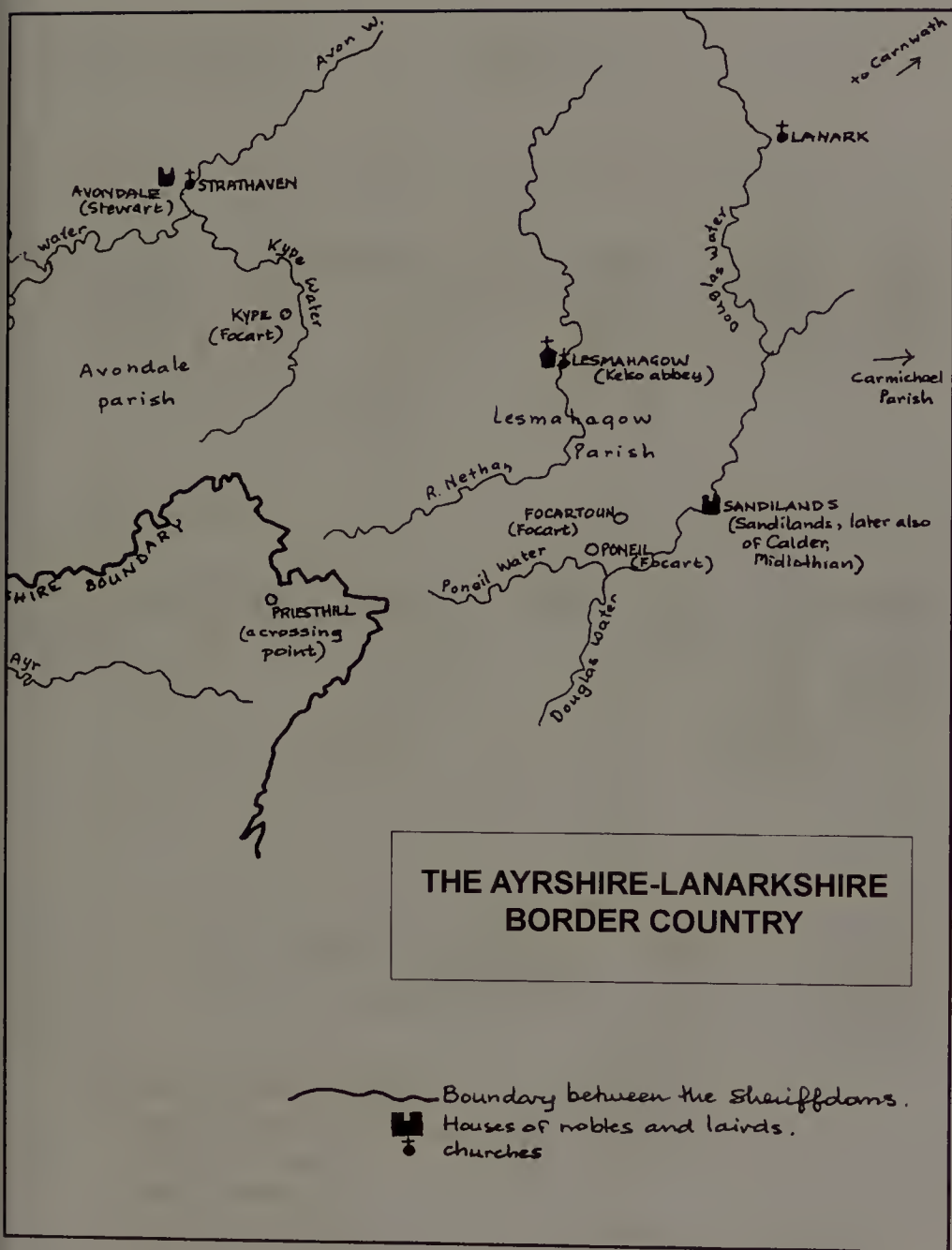


Table 1

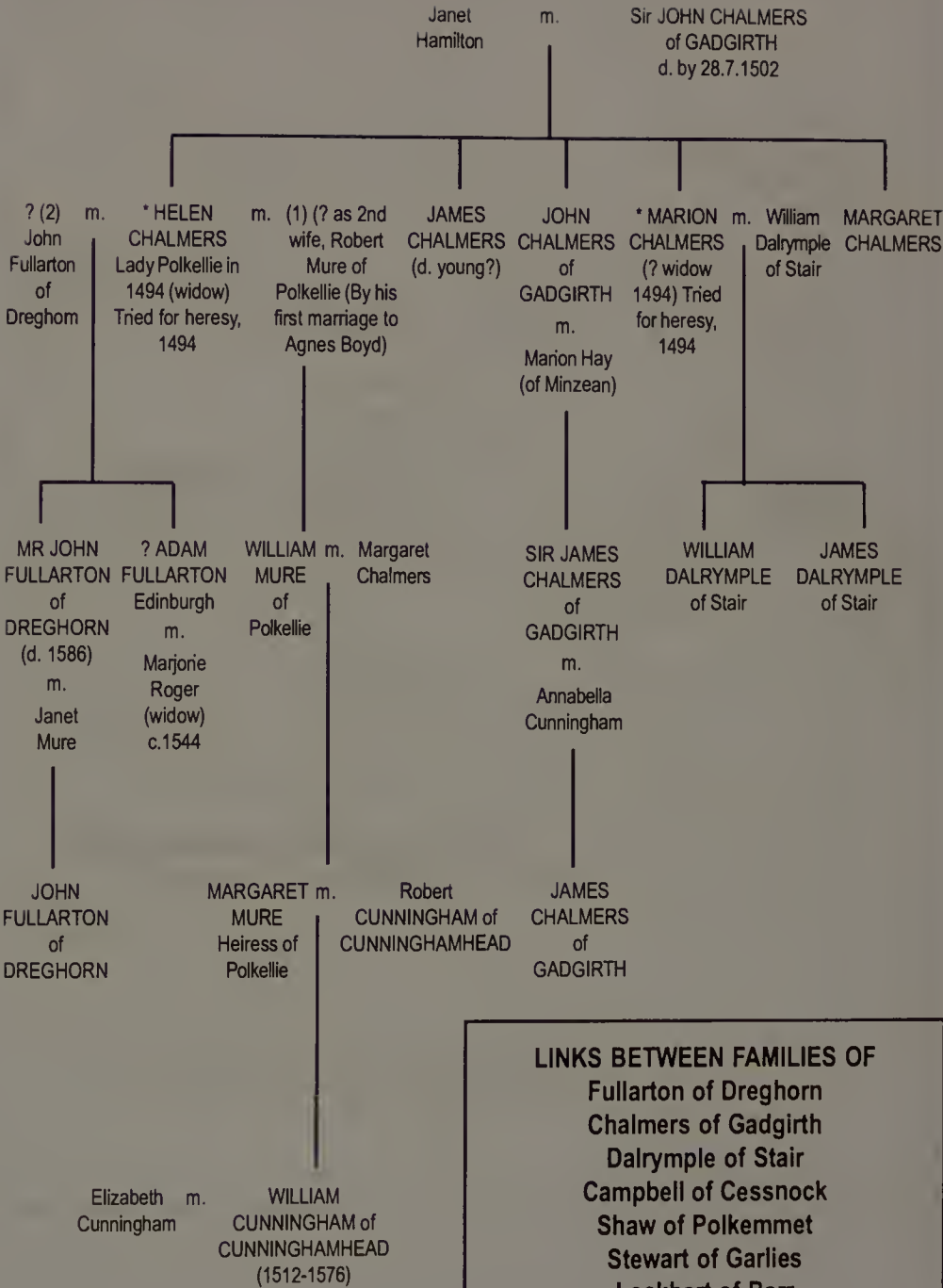


Table 1

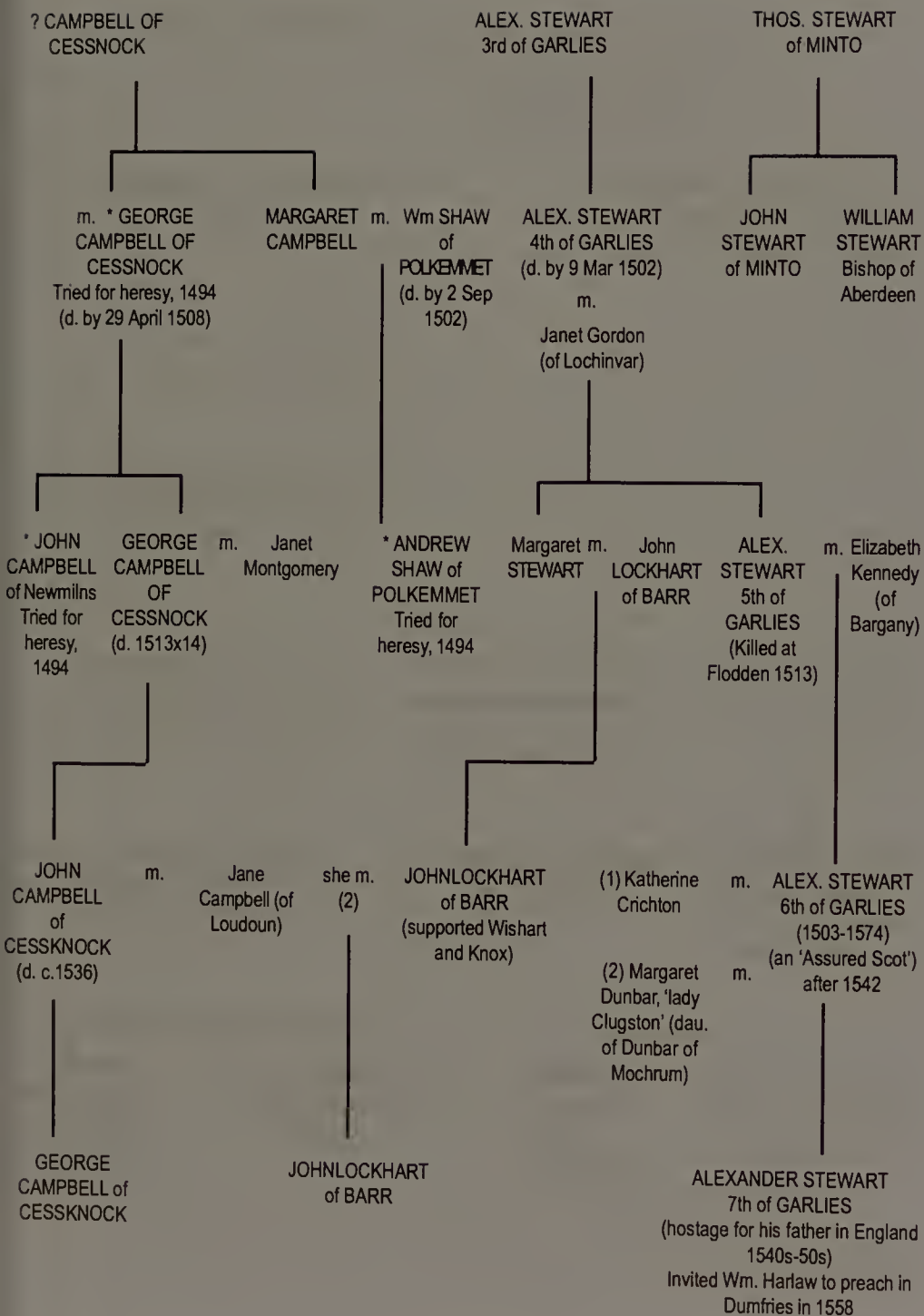
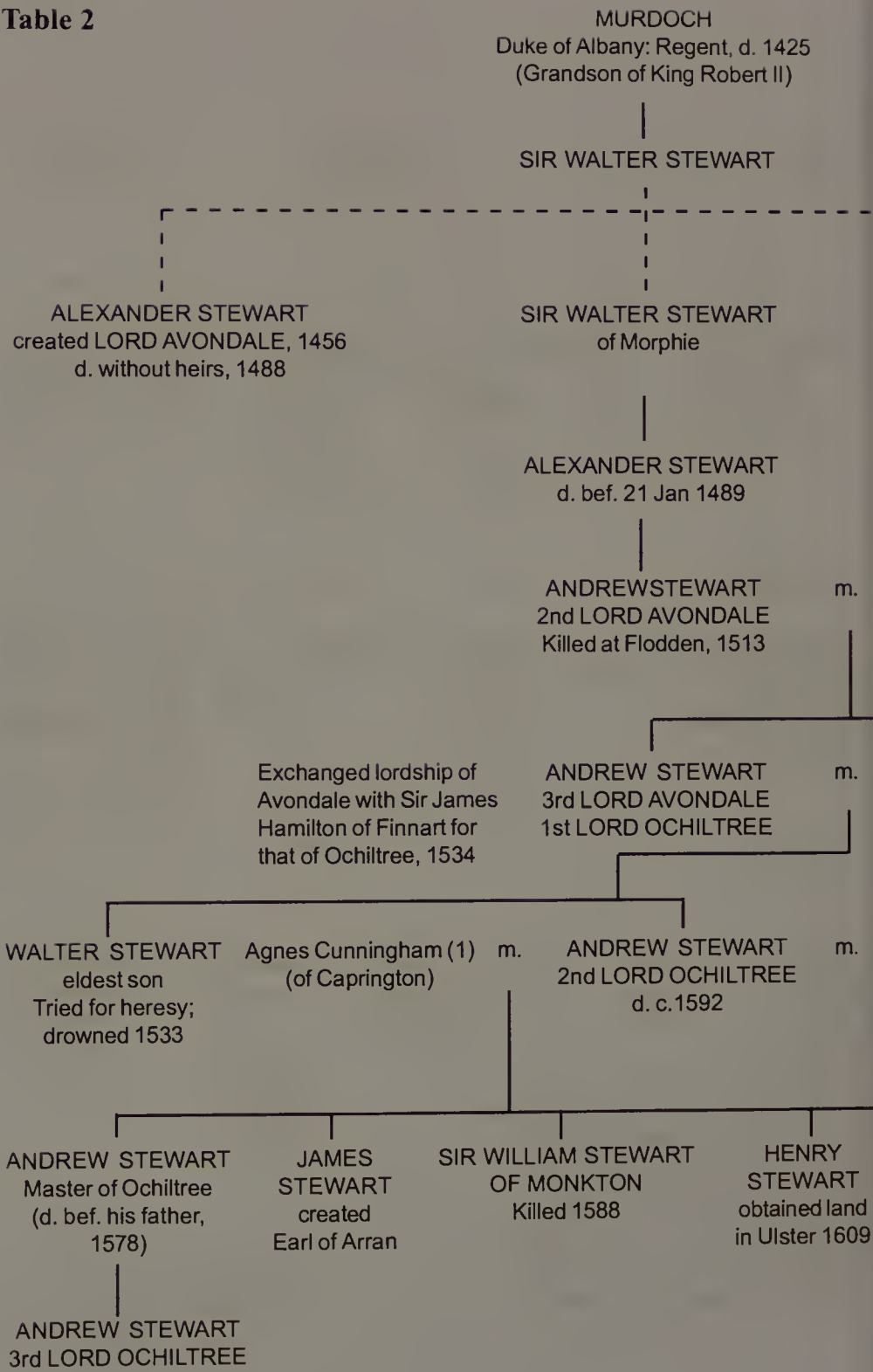


Table 2



THE STEWARTS OF
AVONDALE AND
OCHILTREE

